

By David Dube

There is a great deal of wishful thinking and confusion in many quarters that all that is needed in South Africa is to release Mr. Nelson Mandela of the ANC and possibly "negotiate" with the ANC. It is not stated what the "negotiations" are about, nor are we told how anyone in the history of revolution has ever negotiated from a position of weakness. In their bid to promote ANC "Dialogue" the wishful thinkers have suppressed a lot of information.

First of all they have ignored the fact that the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) which is credited with the uprising of Sharpeville and Soweto and the first guerrilla battles in South Africa such as those of Mashe, Jamata, Quenstom and Pearl has a tremendous influence in the country because it stands for the restoration of the land to the indigenous Africans and for African majority rule. Despite vast sums of money that have been poured on its rival the ANC and massive propaganda in its favour, the PAC political line has remained strong and solid.

What is amazing about the PAC is that it has remained loyal to the genuine national aspirations of the African people of Azania (South Africa) despite vilification, harassment even betrayal by some states, particularly those which often hold "diplomatic" conferences with the South African racist Government. PAC despite odds has proved itself an independent organisation. It has refused to maintain close ties with either super power - the Soviet Union or the USA. PAC has remained its own master - and a genuine African revolutionary liberation movement - refusing to be dictated to by any super power or state. PAC has demonstrated its true anti-imperialist, anti-colonial and anti-racist stand. This is not the case with its rival. ANC has close links with the white minority South African Communist Party which in turn has very close ties with the Soviet Union. It is the S.A.C.P. which has organised massive financial support for the ANC and now control the affairs of the ANC to the extent that the military wing of the ANC - Ukhonto Wesizwe is shared between the SACP and the ANC.

The attempt to control the ANC by Moscow began with the Khartoum Conference in 1969. The Conference was organised by the Moscow-controlled Afro-Asia Peoples Solidarity (AAPSD). In this conference organisations such as ZAPU, FRELIMO and ANC were singled out as "authentic". And ZANU and PAC were treated as if they did not exist and their programmes distorted and misrepresented. Above all, no arms were given to them, but only to the "authentic". FRELIMO has since demonstrated its "authenticity" by signing the "Inkosi Accord" with the hated racist settler regime of South Africa. On the 11th of February 1985 ZAPU was accused by Zimbabwe's Foreign Minister, Mr. M. Mangwede as "bandits being trained in the Transvaal" in South Africa by the Boers. So much for the "authentic".

There has been a call for the release of Mr. Nelson Mandela from prison. The media have so campaigned for his release that the uninformed would gain the

impression he was the only political prisoner or that he has suffered more than any other prisoner in South Africa. The media does not investigate anything these days hence one cannot say they have informed the public about the true situation in Azania. The media seem afraid of discovering the truth! Anyway let me say a few things in this article which I believe have been suppressed. The world is entitled to know the truth about the Azanian situation.

Political Prisoners in South Africa

The first prisoners to be sentenced to life imprisonment this century ^{in South Africa} were those of the PAC. They are Samuel Chibane, Dintake Malepe, Jefe Masemola, John Nkosi, Philimon Tefu and Isaac Mthimunya. This was in 1963. This was 18 months before Mr. Mandela and his ANC colleagues were sentenced to life imprisonment. ANC leaders found these PAC prisoners on Robben Island in 1964.

The case of Isaac Mthimunya is unique in the whole history of life imprisonment. He was sentenced to life imprisonment plus a further nine years! This means that even after his death he will still be expected by the South African racists to serve the remaining nine years. This time in his grave! This shows the madness of the South African Government where PAC is involved.

Isaac Mthimunya was sentenced by Mr. Justice Bessler in the Supreme Court in Pretoria. This Judge said that it was apparent that Mthimunya was of some consequence in the PAC - "very near the throne, a sort of grey cardinal as it were."

Mthimunya and his PAC comrades were jailed before Mandela and other ANC leaders. The world must demand their release and all other prisoners. It is a travesty of justice to demand the release of Mandela before these PAC leaders. These PAC prisoners are the longest life-serving prisoners in South Africa.

Zephania Mthopeng

Another PAC veteran whose name has been raised at the United Nations as well as at the Organization of African Unity meetings is Zephania L. Mthopeng. It is documentarily recorded that "he is the most tortured political prisoner in the history of South Africa." He is older than Mandela, but the Botha regime has made it clear that he is not among the ANC political prisoners to benefit from the "amnesty".

A report in the Sowetan (Johannesburg) of 10th January 1985 had this headline: NO AMNESTY FOR PAC MAN MTHOPENG. The paper then said, "The former leader of the banned Pan Africanist Congress, Zephania Mthopeng (72), convicted on terrorism charges in the Bethal trial in 1979, will not be released under the amnesty announced by President P.W. Botha recently."

A spokesman for the Prison Department, Lt. Col. D.J. Immelman, yesterday confirmed from Pretoria that Mthopeng was definitely not one of the 85 political and long-term prisoners to be released under the special Christmas Amnesty....."

Zephania Mthopeng was imprisoned for the Sahrpeville Uprising in 1960,

for the POQO Uprising in 1963 and sentenced to 30 years imprisonment in 1979 for the Soweto Uprising. The settler judge, Justice Curlewis who sentenced him said that he organised an uprising for "sowing seeds of anarchy and revolution. The riots he organised and predicted eventually took place in Soweto on the 16th of June 1976 and at Kagiso the next day."

Recently a trade unionist and organising secretary of the Council of Unions of South Africa (CUSA) was sentenced to three years imprisonment for being found in possession of the speeches of the late President of the PAC, Mr. Mangaliso Sobukwe. But anyone today can read without fear of jail the "Freedom" Charter of the ANC to which Mr. Mandela subscribes.

Two months ago the 25 year-old Harold Twala was charged and convicted of the activities of the outlawed Pan Africanist Congress in the Regional Court, Johannesburg. During this court case Professor Izak de Vries, a lecturer in a Boer university was asked to give expert evidence for the State. He said that the accused was definitely a PAC activist. "We are living in times of conflict such as daily riots and violence in the townships and as a result people are being influenced by PAC." He remarked that Mr. Twala "acted for PAC and not for the ANC is only calling the devil by another name."

Mr. Twala had pleaded guilty to one count of Internal Security Act and two of contravening the Admission of Persons to Union Regulations Act. In his plea, Twala admitted that during May 1984 in Soweto, he unlawfully and intentionally took part in the activities of the PAC by recruiting people for the PAC military training.

Though not such publicity is being given to the PAC much is happening and the PAC line is accepted by many African people and others.

In September last year riots broke out in the traditional strongholds of the PAC - namely at Sharpeville, Sebokeng, Eopbelong, Thabong, Boikamo etc. These riots resulted in a "Second Sharpeville" massacre by the Boer police. Unable to control these areas through normal police action, the South African regime called out 7000 of its troops to control the situation. There was much killing of Africans and raping of their women in the process by the racist soldiers. The Southern African Catholic Bishops Conference has confirmed these atrocities against the African people.

Anyway what is important is that the Sharpeville Student National Resistance Movement which was involved in the riots aimed at the rent increase, Bantu education and other grievances of the African people have changed their name. The new name is now Vaal Student Resistance Movement. On the 5th of February this year this movement decided to affiliate to the Azanian Students Movement and the National Forum Committee (N.F.C.) and not to the rich and white-controlled U.D.F. Mr. Mandla Mahlangu is the newly elected President. Mahlangu said they had decided to affiliate to the National Forum Committee "because we find our ideas similar to those of black

consciousness movement."

The much publicised UDF which is ideologically woolly and too much under the domination of Whites and Indians - has been **questioned** on a number of issues.

Early this year when Senator Edward Kennedy visited South Africa the UDF supported the visit. The National Forum and the Azanian Peoples Organization opposed the Kennedy visit saying it was being undertaken for electioneering purposes by Mr. Kennedy in the 1988 American Presidential election. When the UDF saw the popular Azanian rejection of the Kennedy trip, they turned round and said Mr. Kennedy had been the guest of Bishop Tutu not of the UDF. This did a lot of harm to the credibility of UDF. Already UDF had been asked to answer a number of questions.

Them! Muzwai asked the "multi-racial" UDF the following questions. In a long article the Sowetan News Editor asked:

- * Why is that most UDF affiliates have constitutions allowing for membership for all races, but no whites seem interested in joining organisations led by blacks, e.g. Cosas (Congress of South African Students)?

- * Why is that whites were involved in the distribution of pamphlets calling for the two-day stayaway but none of these pamphlets were directed at white, Indian and Coloured communities with the result that very few, if any, from these communities participated in the two-day stayaway?

- * Black students writing UNISA (University of South Africa) examinations during the stayaway had their examinations disrupted. Some claim they phoned UDF before the stayaway and asked what they should do. They were told to sacrifice for the struggle. Why was this sacrifice not extended to the other university students, particularly those at Wits?

- * The National Union of South African Students (NUSAS), a white Students' organisation affiliated to the UDF, and the Wits university SRC, also loyal to the UDF, last year organised countless meetings supporting demands by black students. When black students finally boycotted classes and then exams, why did their supporters, NUSAS and Wits SRC, not have white students boycott classes and examinations in support of black students?

- * Black workers at the same university went on strike last year. Black students immediately supported them by going on a class boycott. What is the attitude of UDF that an affiliate NUSAS failed to support a strike by a union at the university?

There are many people who are completely fooled. They think the South African regime can solve the "apartheid problem" by merely "negotiating" with the ANC to the exclusion of the PAC and other revolutionary patriotic organisations inside Azania. This is the height of folly. It is imbecility personified. Those who want to see peace and genuine independence of Azania must not listen to the rubbish that

Just all that is needed in Azania is to release Mandela and "negotiate" with the ANC. This not the correct formula for genuine freedom, lasting peace, stability and national harmony in Azania. The PAC represents a very strong school of thought which ~~sanies~~ and false propaganda aimed at derailing the Azanian national struggle have proved futile. The PAC has a remarkable tradition of principled struggle, self-reliance and revolutionary stamina. Over 124 PAC freedom fighters ^{have been hanged} by the Pretoria regime. Africans have faith in PAC. The PAC slogan ISWE LETHU strikes the deepest cord in the hearts of Africans of Azania.

The PAC seabers and leaders are not fighting mere apartheid. They believe that apartheid can never be reformed. The effective way of destroying apartheid is African majority rule - one man one vote. They say they are out to build a non-racial socialist society. They describe as an "African" anyone "who owes his loyalty only to Africa and accepts the democratic rule of an African majority being regarded as an African."

There is no hypocrisy ⁱⁿ the PAC camp, no beating about the bush. But straight talk which builds a stronger ^{foundation} for the future. The future of Azania is not depended upon saying traders can now trade wherever they wish as Pieter Botha recently announced.

The armed struggle which was begun by the PAC cannot be abandoned without the South African regime showing signs that it accepts democracy ⁱⁿ Azania - African majority rule. No whites were ever driven to the sea in Africa even when they deserved it, since they came from the sea anyway. I have read a great deal of PAC literature and interviewed PAC leaders beginning with the late President Sobukwe. PAC has never been anti-white. This was confirmed by Bishop Desmond Tutu recently when he asked Pieter Botha to talk to ANC and PAC.

Perhaps I should end this article by pointing out that peaceful change in South Africa can come about only when the Botha Government is prepared to hold a conference in which genuine patriotic organisations of the African people can come and state what ^{they want} of the future of their country - not just dictated to by the minority settler regime. Trying to call only one of the organisations is to make that organisation and its leaders look like stooges - woreso when they represent a certain section of the population and not the majority of the Azanian population.

Perhaps the South African Leader of the white Opposition, Dr. Van Zyl Slabbert had this in mind when he said that it would be "extremely appropriate if the new approach were also applied to banned people and organisations such as the Pan Africanist Congress and the African National Congress."

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